THE Jacobite Principles VINDICATED:

In Answer to a LETTER sent to the AUTHOR.

SIR,

AS much as English-men have been famed for their Hearts, they have been always reproached for their Heads. They have always lost their Wits by National Intoxications. They have been always a tempestuous, a heady, and a divided People: But they never were more apparently so than they have been in this last *Change*. They have not only out-run their *Own*, but the Pretences of their *Deliverer*. He came not for a Crown, but to redress our Grievances; but we would give the Crown, yet neglect our Grievances, and all Amendment of our Constitution: And we will still maintain our *Injustice* in the one, and *Folly* in the other. Those that resolve to do so, may see *Maestricht* taken after *Mons* and *Namur*, *Flanders* submitted to *France*, the Confederacy broken, and so (divided as we are and shall be amongst our selves) left to grapple with all that Power, which has now for four Years employed such united Forces. Nor can we hope God will work a Miracle to support so unjust a Quarrel. They may see all this War brought into our own Bowels, into this

divided Kingdom; may ſee it make Havock and Deſolation upon this Iſland; in a word, may ſee Friends and Kindred killing and deſtroying one another, embruing their hands in each others Blood; and then our pretended Fears may become true, thoſe Miſeries overtake us, with the pretended Suſpicions of which we have coloured over and countenanced our unrighteous Doings. But you think it is too late to draw back, and you can ſee no ſecurity in the Reſtoration; you can't ſee our Lives, and our Religion our Liberty and our Property will be ſafe. I averr you impoſe upon your ſelf, and one Man impoſes upon another. But you ſay you are frighted at the Diſcourſes of ſome, both *Proteſtant* and *Catholick*, *Jacobites*. You ſay they talk for *Slavery*, and that when we are *Slaves*, we may be made *Papiſts*. Yet if you would conſider, you have been invited by publiſhed Pamphlets to reflect who among the *Jacobites* are likely to give you ſatisfaction. Would you have Men ſet their Names to what they write? There are Men that you believe are in King *James*'s Intereſt, that you have no reaſon to believe would ſacrifice their Country or their Religion, and that I aſſure you have as true a love for thoſe good things you mention as you can have your ſelf, and that would joyn with you and any Engliſh-men, to ask in a reſpectful manner for every honeſt thing that is neceſſary to ſecure us from *Arbitrary Power*, and the *Violence* of all ſorts of *Prieſts*, and that are themſelves ſatisfied, and can authentically ſatisfie you that the King has been a long time willing to make all thoſe neceſſary Conceſſions that will ſecure the *Church of England*, as the *Eſtabliſhed Worſhip*, make an *Impartial Toleration* ſafe, and for the future put our *Liberties* and *Property* out of the Power (as much as good and wholſome Laws can do it) of *Male-Adminiſtration*; nay, that are ſatisfied he muſt be willing to do ſo if ever he will come home. There are *Jacobites* that believe what *Gourville* is related to have once ſaid concerning our Kings; *Qu'n Roy d'Angleterre qui veut eſtre l'Homme de ſon Peuple,*

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eſt le plus Grand Roy du Monde, mais s'il veut eſtre quelque choſe d'avantage par Dieu, il n'eſt plus Rien. There are *Jacobites* that are for Reformations, though they believe them more laſting under unconteſted Titles than where Title is too great a part of the Diſpute. That think it Lawful for Kings, and their Parliaments, to limit and explain the Nature of *Prerogatives*, though they think it ſafer to the Conſtitution to leave it to the three Eſtates ſo to do, than for one or two of them to innovate too rudely without the Conſent of the other. That own a great Difference between the Changing or Abolition of ſome particular Laws and altering Fundamentals. And the greateſt Aſſertors of Liberty muſt acknowledge, That Prerogatives in Kings, ſuitable to the Reſpective Conſtitution, are neceſſary to maintain thoſe Conſtitutions, and to protect their Subjects, and conſequently that in all Pacts and Compoſitions their People make with them, due care ſhould be taken, even by the People, not to take from their Kings any eſſential Powers. Prerogative like a River ſometimes gains, and ſometimes decreaſes in its Banks; but the Bark of the Community ſails ſafeſt when it keeps its own Natural Channel, according to the reſpective Conſtitutions. *Bacon*, that writes the Uniformity of the Government of *England*, is certainly no over Monarchical Author; yet he has this Expreſſion in relation to K. *Stephen*. *Too much Counter-ſecurity from the King to the People is like ſo many Covenants in Marriage, that make room for Jealouſy, and are but Seeds of an unquiet Life.* After all, it is certainly the Nature of Engliſh-men to delight in, and they have been uſed to a Limited, Explained, and Hereditary Monarchy; and *naturam licet expellas furâ tamen ipſa recurrat* will be found true in a Politick, as well as a Natural Senſe, by all thoſe who would change our Government in an Abſolute Monarchy, or Downright Democracy, or that will interrupt the Succeſſion. The *Lancaſtrian* Uſurpations, and the Late Times, witneſs this: But perhaps ſome of theſe *Jacobites* you complain of may think to diſgrace what I have

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ſaid, by calling theſe Notions Republican. To theſe Gentlemen I will firſt anſwer, That ſince we are ſo Elemented for a *Common-wealth* there is no keeping it out but by a Reformation of the Monarchy, that may apparently anſwer all the Reaſons why Government was firſt depoſited in the Magiſtrates hands, either by God, or the People. I will not diſpute the Original of Government at this time, but I will offer one thing to theſe Speculators to conſider of, which is, That whilſt they too much cajole Kings, they looſe their Intereſt with the People, and mislead an Engliſh Monarch, and make way for that Government both in Church and State which they would (if they underſtood how) oppoſe. They help the Real Commonwealths Men to Arguments, and give the Presbyterians opportunity to inſinuate, and gain the Hearts of the People. Perhaps were the People of *England* a *Prima materia*, I would be very well content that the Draughts of theſe ſuperfine Projectors ſhould be debated, but I think *Machiavel* was as good a Politician as moſt of Them; and yet he ſays, *If the Variations of Times are not obſerved, and Laws and Cuſtoms altered accordingly, much Miſchief muſt follow.* And in another Place, He affirms it *a very hard Thing to keep them in Servitude, who are diſpoſed to be Free.* And whoever has reflected upon the extravagant Courſes we have taken to be ſo, ever ſince the Beginning of the late Civil Wars, cannot ſure doubt of our Diſpoſition: For though we have been miſtaken in our Cures, no body can be miſtaken in our Propenſity. I am no Lord, nor ever deſire or hope for any Title. I had rather ſerve my Country in the Lower than the Upper Houſe; and if my Country never thinks fit to ſend me to *that* neither, I ſhall never Court, much leſs Bribe, for that Imployment from my Country: For I would not be Bribed in it. Yet conſidering how much the Power of the *Lords* has in ſome Reigns been a check to the *Incroachment* of Kings, and in others to the *hot-headedneſs* of the People, I ſhould be willing to ſcrew up the *Ariſtocratical* part of our Government, though

tho not to the heighth it ſometimes has had in our Policy: but the preſent Ferments of *England* make it impracticable. And tho ſome men are, I am not for driving Nails that will not go; when we may without breach of Conſcience let that Work alone to a more clear-ſighted Age. Tho I think our Oaths, and the Original Contract of our Law-Books, bind us to reſtore the King; yet I know no Obligation we lye under to reſtore Power to the Lords, but as there ſhall appear both great Feaſibility and Expediency: I am not for hazarding much for bringing things exactly and minutely to my Platform. It will be always enough for me, if the Fundamentals of our Government are preſerved. A *Trimmer in Politicks*, if it means one that would avoid Extremities, and compoſe Things, and not one that ſerves himſelf by all Times and Changes, is a Name and Character that I ſhall always revere. But to give theſe Gentlemen a further Anſwer, I muſt tell them, that it is plain, by undeniable Matter of Fact, that to thoſe Perſons that ingaged in the *Scotch* Plot, tho he had not tried his Fortune in *Ireland*, nor could the Perſons ingaged aſſure his Return, even upon ſuch Condeſcenſions; yet the King granted under the Broad Seal of that Kingdom, a full Redreſs for all Grievances, and that at the Requeſt of People that had oppos'd him: ſo that talking of Terms will be no harſh Language to him now; he can want no further *Illumination*, by a longer Series of Misfortunes, to let him ſee, that Compliance with his People is his true and only Intereſt. In a private Pamphlet, and in a private Capacity, it is not proper to ſtate the Manner and Bounds of our Redreſſes: But did ever People re-admit a King they had ejected upon the Male-Adminiſtrations of his Miniſters (if they could any ways help it) without making good Proviſions? Can any body imagine we expect the People of *England* ſhould? The Men of Senſe, and Quality, and Eſtates, amongſt the *Jacobites*, be they *Proteſtants* or *Papiſts*, don't wiſh they ſhould do it. *Would you have Tryals ſecured?* It is the Intereſt of all Parties, care ſhould

be taken about them, or all Parties will ſuffer in their turns. *Plunket*, and *Sidney*, and *Aſhton*, were doubtleſs all Murdered, tho they were never ſo guilty of the Crimes wherewith they were charged: The one Tryed twice, the other found guilty upon one Evidence, and the laſt upon nothing but preſumptive Proof. Either let Priſoners have Counſel, or the Judges be forced to be more impartially ſo than they were in any of theſe Caſes; and let Juries underſtand that only *Allegata* and *Probata* are to direct their Verdict, and not *Deadly Feuds*, *Foreign Belief*, or *State Neceſſity*. In *Scotland*, at all *Tryals*, the whole is taken down in Writing, Word for Word, as well all Probations, as what is ſaid, both by the *King's Advocate*, and the *Pannel* or *Criminal*, and is all made a Record; that After-times (when the heat of the Proſecution is over) may examine whether the *Judge* dealt impartially; and if he did not, and is alive at the review of thoſe *Proceedings*, if the Priſoner ſuffered *Death* by his *warping the Law*, the *Judge* is to undergo the ſame *Puniſhment*; and if he is dead, the *Heirs of the injured Perſon* is to recover equal Damages to what they ſuſtained in their *Fortune*, by his *illegal Sentence*, *from the Heirs of the Unjuſt Judge*. The *Saxons* puniſhed falſe Judges by giving Satisfaction *to the Party wrong'd by them*; and as the Caſe required, by *Forfeiture of the Reſidue to the King*, *and by his diſabling them for ever for Places of Judicature*, and by leaving their *Lives* to the *King's Mercy*. Who can have the face to oppoſe the Revival of ſomething equivalent to that Law? But I will not diſcuſs too particularly the Particulars I ſhall mention. The granting of that *Bill for Judges* that the *Prince of Orange* refuſed, and *Whitlock's for Tryals*, will be the Glory of King *James's* Reign whenever he is Reſtored.

As to the *Armed Force* of *England*, I think there may be ways found out to make our *Militia* as ſerviceable as any *Mercenary Bands*, to employ all our Officers that have had Military Experience, to raiſe from time to time ſuch numbers of *Officers*, and ſuch Nurſeries of *Private Sentinels*, as may

may make both the King and Kingdom safe, add to the Glory and Majesty of our *Monarch*, and yet not leave the least Umbrage for Jealousie in the Minds of the People. But this is not a time of day for me to lay before the World such Plans. I will not hold forth such Doctrines under any Government I think unjust; and that I think too, have not the *Honesty* to embrace them if I would. But if ever I see an English Parliament under a *Rightful* Prince, I will not be wanting in offering my Mite, in this and all other things that may contribute to the Good of my Country: And sure no body can be so unreasonable as to be unwilling to hear from One that has given Testimony of his Loyalty to his King and Nation too, any thing that such an One will propose, to establish the Throne, and quiet the Minds of his Fellow-Subjects. *Prætorian Bands* in *Rome* butchered, as well as guarded, their *Emperors*. It is but very lately that the *Janissaries* Deposed the *Grand Seignior*, and *King James's own Army* Deserted from him in these Kingdoms; and I am confident I can shew, that the Love of his Subjects is the best Standing Army for an English King, as well as how he shall have it, and be able to look all his Foreign Enemies in the face to boot: But I say it is not time for the Publication of these things by my hand, nor will I be too prolix upon any one thing; therefore to come to *Parliaments*.

Is there any Man of Sense and Fortune, that does not know them to be the *Conservators* of all that we hold Dear? Can there be an unjuster thing, any thing more fatal, than a partial Representation of the Minds and Interests of Men in that House? Tho this Reign has taught them to do very little else, but give Money, or Sanction to, or Pardons for, the Irregularities of Ministers; yet the Design of their Institution is as well to provide Remedies for the Complaints of the Kingdom, as Cash for the Prince's Coffers. I will not debate what is necessary to make them free, but I am sure they should be so. I will not say how often they must sit, but I am sure they should frequently. Both these Considera-

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tions are fitteſt for their own Houſe; and I am not willing unneceſſarily to make narrow Spirits peeviſh: But ſure no Man of Intereſt, or that hopes to keep any Reputation with the World, will deny they ſhould be free and frequent. And that they ſhould not be too much Officer'd, that they may be Faithful.

I ſhall not enter into a Debate of what is the Work of Parliaments; but there is one thing I am ſure is very properly their s; and that is, to make an exact Scrutiny into the Publick Adminiſtration, and to bring Miniſters (who are above the Reach of Common Courts of Judicature, and can ſtemm all other Proſecutions;) I ſay it is the Work of Parliaments to bring ſuch Miniſters to condign Puniſhment, if they deſerve it.

I know not any thing wherein Princes, and ſome of their Subjects, have been more unfortunately miſtaken, than in their Wiſhes that Miniſters ſhould be *Impunible*. Whereas *Favourites that are not a Cement between Prince and People, that don't conſult in all their Actions the Laws of the Conſtitution and the Inclinations of the Inhabitants, become Rocks of Offence, and bring Ruin, ſometimes upon all, too often upon their Princes, and God be praiſed for it, more generally upon themſelves.* What is the Reaſon of that admirable Maxim, That *the King of* England *can do no wrong?* Why do the People of *England* make him an *Epicurean* God ſo happy in the Injoyment of his own Majeſty? Why do we ſay, That he neither can, nor does diſturb the Peace of our World? but becauſe his Eyes and his Ears, his Omniſciency and his Omnipreſency are comprehended in his Miniſters? but becauſe if thoſe Miniſters are Troublers of our State, they are to be puniſhed, even for Inadvertencies, and much more for Sins of Malice. Tho this Revolution has blotted out all our Original Contract, razed all our Statutes and Law-Books, turned our Monarchy topſy turvy, and ſcandalouſly prevaricated from all our Civil Compacts, by employing the Men that perſuaded King *James* to, and acted in what we imputed to him as

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falſe ſtepps; yet it was his *Miniſters* ſhould have been puniſhed, and not he himſelf dethroned; and ſure King *James*, after he has found ſo many *Miniſters* were falſe, others flattering and fooliſh, cannot be unwilling to leave it an *everlaſting Law* to his and our Poſterity, that *Miniſters ſhall be accountable*. It is our *Law*, though both weak and profligate Men have, the one fancied, and the other pretended the contrary; and for that Reaſon, and that Reaſon only, it ought to be written more legibly in our *Statute-Books*: Is it not the Intereſt of Kings, that Miniſters ſhould not *Male-adminiſter* away all the affection of their Good and Loving Subjects? Is it not the Intereſt of Kings, that the *Repreſentative Body* ſhould plainly ſhew them by whom and how they are betrayed? Yet after all, thoſe that will read that excellent Chapter in *Machiavel*, which ſhews *how neceſſary it is for the conſervation of the State, that any Citizen be ſecurely accuſed*, p. 277. of his Works, ought to read the two next pages, which ſhew that *unjuſt Calumnies are no leſs pernicious to a Common-wealth, than legal Accuſations are profitable and good*; and there you will find a great difference betwixt *Accuſation* and *Calumny*. *Miniſters* ought to be puniſhed; I am ſatisfied the King is willing they ſhould be ſo, for the future: *Sunderland*'s Miniſtry ſuggeſts that Advice to him very effectually and ſtrongly; but *Beauteſeaux* alſo are to be ſuppreſſed in all well-ordered States.

One thing ſeems naturally here to fall in my way, which I beg leave to handle in the moſt inoffenſive manner that I can. I foreſee this part will leſs pleaſe ſome Men, for whom no Man living can have a greater Honour than I have; yet I think it of ſo much neceſſity and importance, that I cannot forbear mentioning it. There was not an ill thing done in King *James*'s Reign, that I did not call ſo then; and all that know me, know that I have taken it as my Province to repreſent Truths, be they never ſo bold or bitter, whilſt they are for Inſtruction. I am no Advocate for any Man's faults, nor for any faults, though I would be charitable and good natured, forgiving and forgetting, towards all Men's Perſons. Methinks the State of things require this meaſure. I ſcarce believe there ever was a period of time, wherein an Univerſal Amneſty was ſo requiſite; a forgetfulneſs, as well as forgiveneſs of all paſt Crimes. Methinks all ſides ſtand in need of this temper. If the *Miniſters* of King *James* exceeded in their management of our Affairs, as doubtleſs they did, we have doubtleſs exceeded too, in

our revenge upon the King's Person; and besides, those that have fain in with the Usurpation have not proceeded against any one Man that has been in their Hands, for any thing that was done amiss in the two late Reigns; and therefore methinks it is very hard, if we cannot forgive those that have undergone banishment, (which in all Countries has been reckoned some sort of punishment) or such as have hazarded Prisons, or the Gallows, every day: Why should we not forgive all those that serve him amongst us, or that are with the King (though they may have had faults) when we desire, or I am sure ought to desire, that the whole Land should be forgiven? All *Parties*, and *almost all Men*, have some way or other been to blame; and therefore there seems to me to be a little too much Passion, and Self-interest in keeping up old Grudges: I avoid saying there is any infatuation in keeping them up, though I cannot think that it is the likeliest way to prepare the King to close with wise Councils, to revive or continue our Piques: For the King can scarce be supposed to be without some kindness for those, who have either followed his Fortunes, or ventured their Necks for him; and consequently it is not perhaps adviseable to make those that transact in his Affairs (though they have been peccant) believe they can have no Quarter, no Share in him, unless he return with a High Hand. They will have some opportunities to put ill Constructions upon good Advices. I have read of but few of those Heroick Spirits in any Age, who have so divested themselves of all regard for their own Persons and Posterity, as to be willing to become a Sacrifice to their Country. I think this Age affords fewest Instances of those great Minds, and therefore I think it the likeliest way to make Men instrumental towards the Good of their Country, to shew them that they shall find their own account in being so. I hope I have expressed my self in as modest and inoffensive words as any, in which I could conceive my thoughts; and I hope I shall not be mis-understood, as if I would justifie any thing that was by any Body done amiss; for I will not justifie a false step, even in the King; but I would have us lay aside all the Byasses of Factions and Friendships, and much more all Enmities, that we may unanimously offer to the King right Notions, and thereby restore him to his Hereditary Kingdoms. After all I would not have less than such a repentance which gives evidence of amendment entitle to Absolution, but I would leave room and rewards for such repentance.

I fear this moderation, and forgiving of Enemies, will be thought a hard Leſſon; but I bleſs God I have practiſed it, and I think it not only the nobleſt Precept of *Chriſtian Morality*, but an admirable rule in *Civil Prudence*, eſpecially in our caſe; for it is as difficult for a Party, that is ſubdivided within it ſelf, to pull down an Uſurpation, as it can be for a divided Kingdom to ſtand.

But I am ſenſible I have made too long a digreſſion, and therefore muſt omit many other particulars, upon which I would explain my ſelf, and the ſence of many other *Jacobites*; and I can aſſure you I am ſorry that any *Jacobites* ſay any thing that offends well-meaning Men; but I wiſh, for their own ſakes, my Country-men would not take a Standard, either of the King's inclinations, or the reſt of his Friends, from their indiſcreet Tattle. There are in his Intereſt thoſe that know, that to talk too loftily and dogmatically, to diſpute as they do in the Schools concerning Prerogative, and the Nature of Monarchy, to ſtand nicely upon Punctillio's, to conſult *Ariſtotle*'s and *Zenophon*'s Kings, is as unlikely a way to come to a mutual accommodation, as to peruſe and dream of *Plato's Common-wealth*, *Sir Thomas More's Utopia*, *Harrington's Oceana*, &c. There are Men of his ſide, that think (as the great antient Lawgiver *Solon* did) that a Government muſt be framed according to the Nature of the Governed; and that he is the beſt Subject, as well as *Politician*, that adapts all his Notions to our Tempers; that conſiders Men, as well as peruſes Books, when he is to draw a Scheme; and I believe, as you ſay, that the High Flights of ſome *Jacobites* hinder many honeſt Men from coming into his Intereſt; and farther, that they even ſometimes miſlead the King; nevertheleſs, there are in his Intereſt, Men that I aſſure you are not frighted at Words, nor ſtartled at Nick-names, that know the *King* of *England* makes the greateſt Figure in *Europe*, when he is beſt with his People, and that is when he Governs by the Meaſures of Commonweal. Theſe Men know a good *Commonwealths*-man was not a Character of Reproach in our *Legiſlation* and *Politicks*, till all our Glory dwindled, and the Abſoluteneſs of Miniſters was more conſulted, than the true Intereſt of *King* or *Kingdom*; till a pack of Knaves forged a *ſeparate Intereſt* between the *King* of *England* and his People; and till they began to call a Mix'd Monarchy an Errant Bull, and would Reform our State by Metaphyſical and Court Diſtinctions. Whereas if our Hiſtories

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and Statute-Books were conſulted, they are every where full of Explanations. Are theſe Gentlemen, you complain of, weary of *Magna Charta*, (which was but a Revival and Recitation of the *Saxon Liberties*, and antient *Britiſh Laws?*) I will prove them farther, that *Laws* and *Lawful Prerogatives* may be ſo abuſed, that it may be fit to take away the one, and to deſire that the other may never be again ſo uſed; and that our former Kings have thought ſo. But I will go no farther back than the Conjunction of the *Two Roſes*, and they may find that in *Henry* the Seventh's time, *Empſon* and *Dudley* harraſſed the People by Abſolete unrepeal'd Laws; nay, it has never been thought *mean* by our greateſt Kings to make *Condeſcentions* to their People: And as haughty as *King Henry the Eighth* was, my Lord *Herbert* in his *Hiſtory* of his *Reign*, tells you, that in his firſt Parliament, he repealed, explained, or limitted thoſe *Statutes*, by which his Father had taken advantage of his People; and (as my Lord *Herbert* judiciouſly obſerves therein) *was willing to reſtrain his own Authority, in ſome ſort, that he might enlarge the People's Confidence and Affection.* This that King did in the celebrated part, to wit, in the beginning of his Reign, though he had at the ſame time in his Exchequer, what was equivalent to Seven Millions Sterling now; and was in peaceable Poſſeſſion of his Throne; and had no particular preſſing Occaſion to pleaſe his People. How much more neceſſary is this meaſure to regain the People's Confidence and Affection towards an *Exil'd Prince?* The Author of this Hiſtory (my Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*) profeſſes in his Epiſtle Dedicatory, great deference to Kings; and that the King (to whom he dedicates his Hiſtory) *had luſtrated by his Gracious Eye, and conſummated by his Judicious Animadverſions, all the parts of that Hiſtory, as faſt as he finiſhed them.* And therefore this inſtance ought to be of great weight with every Body, even with thoſe *Jacobites* you talk of. *It is a* Royal, *as well as my Lord* Herbert's *Hiſtory of* Henry *the Eighth.*

I am not ignorant, that this King *Henry* the Eighth is brought as an inſtance of a King that could pull up Foundations, and do what he pleaſed; but there was a ſtrange concurrence in his Time to help him in the buſineſs he was doing, and he did it by *Parliaments*, and often uſed *Palliations*; and perhaps if a Man looks obſervingly upon his Life, he was but the Head of the Rabble-rout; and neither he nor the People knew what he would be at. It was an Age big with Changes; and his greateſt Exorbitances fell upon a

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ſort of People who were wearing into diſeſteem, or were of a more private Nature. Beſides, he began his Reign, with a wondrous good Grace; and he ſacrificed now and then a *Miniſter*: And what he took from the *Church*, he divided amongſt the Gentry and Nobility: But after all, I will own there are ſome Periods of his Reign, wherein the Prince went farther than the People, and he had the good luck to do ſtrange things by uncomprehenſible ways: For my Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury* (as judicious and ſharp-ſighted an Author as he is) ſeems to wonder, and not to underſtand all the Occurrences of his Reign His beginning it ſo condeſcendingly makes it leſs a wonder, that the People were a great while apt to put good Conſtructions upon what he did afterwards. He gave up *Empſon* and *Dudley* meerly to their rage; and *Woolſey*'s Fall was pleaſing; and as I juſt now intimated, he was more Sacrilegious towards the Church, which was then going down with the People, than he was otherwiſe oppreſſive.

The next Perſon I will introduce ſhall be Queen *Elizabeth*, whoſe Speech in the 43d year of her Reign, occaſioned by Complaints againſt Monopolies, is ſo excellent, that I think fit to tranſcribe it at length; though I will not amend the *Sanguinary Laws* ſhe made in matters of Religion, as well againſt *Browniſts*, &c. as *Papiſts*, no more than I will many other parts of her Reign. I have often wondred, why *meer Church of England-men* cryed out againſt, or *Whiggs* ſo much extoll'd her, ten or twelve years ago; for ſhe was a *meer Church of England-Queen*: But I proteſt I know not how enough to commend this Speech, which ſhe made to her Parliament: I wiſh every Body would peruſe the Context of it in *Camden*; but the Words of it are theſe:

'WE owe unto you ſpecial Thanks and Commendations for 'your ſingular Good Will towards us, not in ſilent 'Thought, but in plain Declaration expreſſed; whereby ye have 'called us back from an Error, proceeding from ignorance, not 'willingneſs. Theſe things had undeſervedly turned to our diſgrace '(to whom nothing is more dear than the Safety and Love of our 'People) had not ſuch Harpies and Horſe-Leeches as theſe been 'made known unto us by you. I had rather be maimed in Mind, 'or Hand, than with Mind or Hand to give allowance of ſuch Pri-'vileges of Monopolies as may be prejudicial to my People. The 'brightneſs of Regal Majeſty hath not ſo blinded mine Eyes, that

'the licentious Power ſhould prevail more with me, than Juſtice. 'The Glory of the Name of a King may deceive unskilful Princes; 'for I know that the *Common-wealth* is to be governed for the be- 'nefit of thoſe that are committed, not of thoſe to whom it is 'committed. And that an account is one day to be given before 'another Judgment-Seat. I think my ſelf moſt happy, that by 'God's aſſiſtance I have hitherto ſo governed the whole *Common-* 'wealth, and have ſuch Subjects, as for their Good, I would wil- 'lingly leave both Kingdom and Life alſo. I beſeech you that 'what Faults others have committed by falſe ſuggeſtions, may 'not be imputed to me. Let the Teſtimony of a clear Conſcience 'be my abſolute Excuſe. Ye are not ignorant that Princes Ser- 'vants are now and then too attentive to their own benefit, that the 'Truth is often concealed from Princes. And they cannot them- 'ſelves look preciſely into all things, upon whoſe Shoulders lyeth 'continually the Weight of the greateſt Buſineſs.

I cannot but obſerve, before I go any farther, that this Queen was not willing to take upon her ſelf the faults of her Servants; but on the contrary, gave them very hard Names. I muſt obſerve likewiſe, that *Common-wealth* was no odious word then; for ſhe calls the *Government* of *England* ſo twice in this Speech; and her own Secretary *Smith* wrote a Book of our Government, to which he gave that Title. This was an Age, wherein *Majeſty* could court, and *Miniſters* affect to be Patriots of the People; and yet *Prerogative* did not looſe much ground, although it ſometimes yielded,

But I will come nearer our Times, as far as the Union of this Iſland. Sir *Francis Bacon* adviſed King *James* the Firſt (as you may find in his *Reſuſcitatio*) to amend by conſent of *Parliament*, ſome of our Laws, and to expunge others, eſpecially Penal Ones.

He quotes *a Learned Civilian (though he does not Name him) that expounded the Curſe of the Prophet*, Pluet ſuper eos Laqueos, *Of multitude of Penal Laws; which* (continues he) *are worſe than Showers of Hail, or Tempeſts upon Cattel; for they fall upon Men.*

He goes on: *There are ſome Penal Laws fit to be retained; but their Penalty too great. And it is ever a Rule, That any over-great Penalty* (*beſides the Acerbity of it*) *deads the Extention of the Law.*

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He ſays alſo, *there is a farther Inconvenience of Penal Laws, Obſolete and out of Uſe: For it brings a Gangreen, neglect and habit diſobedience upon other wholeſome Laws, that are fit to be continued in Practice and Execution. So that our Laws endure the Torment of* Mezentius, The Living die in the Arms of the Dead.

I choſe to expreſs my Lord *Bacon*'s Mind in his own Words: But I will add to what he has ſaid, a farther Inconvenience, that I my ſelf have obſerved in the reading of Hiſtories; which is, that the revival of *Obſolete Powers*, and *Obſolete Penal Laws*, have not only proved a ſnare to the People, but given Kings too often an Handle to fall into ſuch Meaſures, as have proved deſtructive to themſelves. *Powers in a Crown, that are wholly unfit to be exerciſed, are only Temptations to Oppreſſion and Miſ-underſtanding. Knight-Service* was once a very *Politick Tenure*. It was once fit, before the ſeveral People of this *Kingdom* were mixed and civilized, that whoever was born upon a *Lord*'s Land, ſhould be brought up under his Care; and that no Woman that held Land of any Lord, ſhould carry her Eſtate to any Man that was an Enemy to that Lord; yet in *King James* the Firſt's days, the ſame Sir *Francis Bacon*, though then Sollicitor-General to him, in a Conference with the Lords, by Commiſſion from the Commons, made a Speech to perſwade the Lords to joyn with the Commons in a Petition to the *King*, to obtain liberty to treat of a Compoſition with his Majeſty for *Wards* and *Tenures*. This was in the Seventh Year of *King James*'s Reign, in Halcyon days. The Speech is in the 34th Page of my Lord *Bacon*'s *Reſuſcitatio*, and worth any Man's reading. He therein propoſeth in recompenſe of the Revenue of Tenures, a more ample, a more certain, and a more *Loving Dowry*; *Loving Dowry* expreſſeth admirably well, that *Kings* ſhould be willing to change any part of their Revenue, for what may ſuit better with the People's inclinations. But I won't make Remarks upon this Speech.

The next Paragraph ſpeaks of the Nature of thoſe things, and how it is changed with the Times. *Vocabula manent, res fugiunt*, are his Words.

And the next Paragraph to that ſays a great deal in theſe two Axioms, *Natura vis maxima, & ſuus cuique diſcretus ſanguis*: for reſtoring Children to the care of their moſt affectionate Relatives.

I come to the Reign of *K. Charles* the First, and muſt ſay that the ſtrained uſe of ſome *Powers* and *Prerogatives*, for which the *Flattering Lawyers* had ſome dark ſemblance of Authority in our Law Books, gave the fatal riſe to the late *Civil Wars*, which ended in the *Horrid Murder* of that *King*; and when *K. Charles* the Second was reſtored, though the firſt Parliament he called, will be allowed by every body to be ſufficiently devoted to him, yet he therein, when they were under the greateſt Tranſports, and Raptures of Loyalty, paſsed many Acts, that plainly own the *great Inexpediency*, if not *Illegality* of ſeveral things done in his *Father's days*; and ſecured us againſt the like abuſes hereafter. And had he lived, he muſt have owned, that he himſelf had carried the *Quo Warranto's* too far, or he would have ſate uneaſie; and thoſe very Men that were inſtrumental in *Quo Warrantoing Corporations*, did every where declare, that *Regulations*, which (however Illegal I take them to be in themſelves, how much ſoever I think them a *Fanatick Rowland* for the *Church* of *England Oliver*, yet I think they were agreeable to the *Powers* the Crown reſerved to its ſelf in the *New Charters*;) I ſay, that thoſe very Men that were Inſtrumental to the *Quo Warrantoing Corporations*, did every where declare, that the *Regulations* in the ſucceeding Reign, made the very *Legiſlative Power* inſecure; and reſolved all our Government into an *Abſolute* and *Deſpotick Rule*. Queſtionleſs there ſhould be ſome way to puniſh the *Abuſes* in *Corporations*, but the *Penal Laws* that are againſt *Corporations*, have perhaps annexed to them *too great a Penalty*; perhaps it would be better to puniſh the Perſons that offend, than to fall upon the poor *Innocent Charter*. *I would have the Body Corporate be able to do no wrong, though the Members may.*

But it is not my buſineſs in this place to propound the Remedies, but to ſhow that it is lawful to make, and that there uſed to be made, and that there ought to be *Reformations* now, as well as there have been formerly. And I hope I have made it plain, both from our *Hiſtories* and *Statutes Books*, That *Civil Infallibility* was not formerly an *Article in our Politicks*, nor has it the *Univerſality* on its ſide; nor will any Party abide by it, unleſs for Perſonal Ends, or when it ſerves their own Party. The *Papiſts* did not believe it in their days. The *Church* of *England* did not believe it when his Majeſty was amongſt us; and the *Fanaticks* never pretended to believe it. Thus you ſee my thoughts, and as different as they may be from the *Williamites* that have deluded, or from the

Jacobites

Jacobites that have affrighted you, I defie any of the one to be readier to hazard themselves for their Countrey, or the other to venture farther for the Service of *K. James*. All that I desire, is, that the *King* may have for his Motto, what the sincere Christian says of the two best Emperors of *Rome*. *Tacitus* his words are, *DIVUS NERVA, & DIVUS TRAJANUS, RES OLIM INSOCIABILES MISCUERANT, IMPERIUM & LIBERTATEM.* And may the remainder of *K. James* the Second's days give yet leave, after he has lived long here, to write upon his Tomb, *Divus* JACOBUS *Secundus* &c. *Res olim insociabiles miscuit, Imperium & Libertatem.* I would have the *King* consult his own Honour; but I think he does it best, when he considers well, and throughly of the Liberties of the People. I allow that Maxim, to be true, *Principium actiones præcipui sunt ad famam componendæ.* But no *English King* will preserve his Memory grateful, in the *Records* of *Time*, or his Name dreadful in *Foreign Courts*, who is not beloved by his People; and none will be so, that does not carefully Fence, and inviolably preserve our Rights. We have been a People always jealous of our Rights, *Tenacissimi Libertatis*. The word *Conquest* is often met with in our common Histories, and misleads our common Readers; but though our Nation has been often stormed, our *Essential Laws* and *Customs* were never carried. The *Romans* governed us by our own Laws, and the wisest of their *Lieutenants* found we were more easily governed by Gentleness and Justice, than by Force. The *Danes* made no alteration in our *Constitution*. And the *Saxon* and *Norman* Invasions ended in *Treaty*; and the *Saxon* Government was homogeneous to our Temperament. And when *William* (called the *Conquerour*) would have introduced the *Customs* of *Norway*, the People neither would, nor did receive them. If a Man reads *Historics* to understand Government, he must observe many things besides the *Tale* of them; and whoever looks into our *Antiquities*, will find the foot-steps of our *Liberties* are as ancient as of our *Kings*. But to return to what I was saying some time since, I would not injure my Countrey for *K. James*, nor would I injure *K. James* for my Countrey. I think your Party wicked, and I fear too many *Jacobites* are weak. They are weak by fantastick Notions, and violent Aversions; and *Personal*, *Party*, and *Church Quarrels*: But I would rather Lament than Expostulate too freely, and I desire no body to serve *K. James*, but on the principles of making him the Father of this Countrey.

I once again assure you I neither do, nor will upon any other, and were he reinstated in his Throne, if he pursued *Partial Notions*, and *ungrateful Measures*, I would rather make a *Vow of Voluntary Exile*, than accept the best imployment, that a *King* of *England* has in his Power to give: I have many times told him so. And farther I would always advise him to take into his Business *Popular* Men, and to let them serve him, by the Methods that made them *Popular*: But at the same time, I say, I would advise him to forget as well as forgive all our Miscarriages. I would have a *perfect Act of Oblivion* from him; and I would have the People pass on their part, so entire an *Act of Oblivion*, that they should not gall any one Man, for what they did amiss in his Reign, or under this Usurpation, on condition that they testifie their repentance by their amendment of Life. Though *Henry* the Fourth of *France* (so justly called the *Great*) was in his absence arraigned and condemned to Death, and executed in *Effigie* by Harquebusses; and this by the *Votes* and *Order* of the *Parliament of Tholouse*; yet, notwithstanding he recovered his Kingdom by force of Arms, that Great and Excellent King did not in the least revenge their Trayterious and Rebellious Usage; by which Generous as well as Politick Carriage, he added to the Conquest of his Country, *the Conquest of the Hearts of all his People*, reconciling at once all the *Animosities* and *Factions* which had been the Product of near *Forty Years Civil Wars*. Let a new Face of things arise likewise out of our State-Chaos. May the King Govern with that Equal Hand, that Merit may be rewarded, and nothing but Vice in disgrace; that those may be thought to serve him best, that most serve the General Good: And let it be a Crime as well as ill Manners, to revive any of *our old Distinctions*: Let there be no distinction upon the account of *Ecclesiastical or Civil Faith*; and *Obedience* and *Allegiance* to the *Civil Power* be the only *Test* for Preferment. You know, my Friend! I am no *Papist*, though I am for a *Civil Comprehension*: And as falsly as your *Irish Doctor King* has traduced His Majesty for what he did in *Ireland*, I am told one thing for which his Wisdom and Goodness can never be enough commended, and that is, that he required no Oath from any one Man that served him; but trusted to their Honour, and their Interest, rather than the Obligation of Oaths, being sure an honest Man would do his Duty without them; and being also convinced by a *late* and *sad Experience*, that they never bound

bound a Knave: And thus he truly made himself the King of all Perſwaſions.

The Diſcipline of the *Lacedemonians* was poſitive, That every Man ſhould keep his Rank or Die; yet they never put an Oath to their Soldiers: Shame and Honour had more Power over thoſe brave Minds, made them even ſcorn Death (which is the greateſt Tryal) had a more infallible effect upon them, than we can pretend all Oaths have upon us.

Notwithſtanding this ſhort Remark about Oaths, I am neither *Quaker* nor *Sectarian*; therefore a hint is enough from me upon that Subject: But from the ſeveral Heads of Diſcourſe I have handled, methinks I find my ſelf under a neceſſity of clearing, at leaſt, briefly Three things, and I will do it as briefly as I can.

The Firſt is, that thoſe that are both Zealous and Jealous for Liberty and Property are more in number, than thoſe that are for the Strains and Stretches of Prerogative.

I find there is a vaſt and unlucky miſtake in the Computations of ſome People, and that by reaſon that they do not diſtinguiſh between the *State* and *Religious Whigg*. *I* allow the *Fanatick Whigg*, or thoſe that refuſe to come to our Communion, are not perhaps the *twentieth Man* in *England*; but there are very great numbers of Men, who never went formerly, nor do now go, even by reaſon of their Principle, to any other *Church* but the *Church* of *England*. There are likewiſe many others, who are not at all Biggoted to any particular Form of *Church Worſhip*, who yet moſtly, if not altogether, go to the Church of *England*; and yet both the one and the other of theſe are as much, or perhaps more nicely *Whiggs* in *Civils*, than are the *Fanaticks*, though not ſo generally called ſo. So that there are Church of *England* and *Latitudinarian*, or (as the *Scotch* call them) *Eraſtian* as well as *Fanatick Whiggs*. Now let us conſider what Intereſt all theſe Three ſort of *Whiggs* have in our Affairs; what influence they have over them; and you will find by Matter of Fact, that theſe many years laſt paſt, they all joyning upon a *Civil Bottom*, have all along been too hard for that which is the Church of *England*, as it is *contra-diſtinguiſhed* to the *Whigg*. They were fatally ſo in King *Charles* the Firſt's time. But to bring things within all our Memories and Obſervation, the Three laſt Parliaments in King *Charles* the Second's Reign, is not an impro-

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per ſeaſon to calculate their intereſt and influence: For then they choſe before any illegal or unwarrantable Tricks had been played by either ſide with *Charters*, and if the Nation was inflamed by a Popiſh Plot, I am ſure the Court lean'd wholly to the High Prerogative Church of *England*. Then you ſee that the *Bill of Excluſion* (though it was an exceſſive and exotick rant, rather than a natural effect or production of *Whiggiſm*) was carried in the Houſe of Commons, and that though almoſt all the Members were *Church-Goers*. But I will ſhew you yet by a later inſtance, that *State-Whiggiſm* runs through this Nation. All thoſe that are for this Government, act upon that Principle, and lay aſide the Paſſive Obedience, and Prerogative-Notions of the High Church of *England* men; notwithſtanding that they keep up the Epiſcopal Order, the Pomp, Ceremony, and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*. And who-ever will turn out a King for *Mal-adminiſtration* in his *Miniſters*, will never receive him without a *Reformation* in the *Conſtitution*: They will be *State-Whiggs*, though they do not call themſelves ſo. It is for Liberty and Property that theſe Men ſtruggle, though they do not know how to Name their own Actions.

The Second that ſeems neceſſary for me to clear, is, That it is neceſſary to give a *Liberty of Conſcience*; and that theſe Aſſerters of Liberty and Property will be for Liberty of Conſcience, and be able, upon the King's giving good Securities for our Civil Rights, to give in exchange of them, an Impartial Toleration. I will not diſpute the inconſiſtency of Perſecution, with either the Chriſtian or Moral Law: Nor will I take pains to prove that where a Nation is greatly divided into Sects, it is the Intereſt of the Nation to give every body leave to worſhip God in their own manner. But I will ſhew the likelihood that the State-Whigs ſhould and will exchange Religious Liberty for Civil Security. And now I muſt again carry you back to the beginning of the late Civil Wars, and then you will find, becauſe the Church of *England* would not give Liberty of Conſcience, the State-Whigs ſet up Presbytery. The next Conſultations I muſt make you aquainted with, are the Debates of the above-mentioned three laſt Parliament of King *Charles* the Second, and you may eaſily recollect they were for Liberty of Conſcience to all Proteſtant Diſſenters, nay, they made

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ſome Votes that were thought extravagant in their favour, ſome *ſuſpending diſpenſing Votes*; for they reſolved it as the Opinion of that *Houſe*, that it was contrary to the Intereſt of the Nation, to put the Laws (which were then in Being) in Execution againſt them: But you will ſay they did not Vote as much for the *Papiſts*. You muſt conſider the Seaſon. Beſides that, the *Papiſts* have been eſteemed errant *Courtiers* ever ſince the *Reformation* The Parliament then thought they had a Popiſh Plot on foot; they thought that Plot was not a Plot for Liberty to Worſhip in the Popiſh Way, but to introduce Popery, by the deſtruction of all our Civil and Religious Liberties. You know, at the beginning of my Letter, I charged my Country with *National Intoxications*: We can at ſome times believe *Inviſible Pilgrims*, *Black Bills*, St. *Jones's Gridirons*, and that *three thouſand Iriſh* can *Maſſacre* all *England*. And when that Popiſh Plot was proſecuted ſo violently, the generallity of Men looked upon the *Papiſts* as *Banditti* and *Miſanthropi*, in relation to the *Proteſtants*; they looked upon them as the *Partizans* and *Janizaries* of the *Court*, Propagators of Civil as well as Religious Superſtition and Idolatry. And if theſe Men had a mind to ruine the Papiſts at that day, it was not becauſe of their *Prayers* and *Beads*, but becauſe they thought them Enemies to our Conſtitution; not only from their dependance upon the *Roman See*; but for a miſchief that was nigher at hand, their exceſſive flattery of the Court and Crown; whereas the *Diſſenters* being avowedly tender of Liberty and Property, were not only favoured by all thoſe Parliaments, but influenced great Numbers of thoſe who were not of their own Communion, at the reſpective Elections of each of thoſe Parliaments: So that the Principle of *Liberty of Conſcience* was perfectly prevalent, though they held a ſtrict hand over the *Papiſts*, out of the Principle of Self-preſervation; and conſequently a truly choſen Parliament will make the *Papiſts Engliſh*-men where they find them ſo. In farther proof of this laſt Aſſertion, I muſt beg you to remember, how *King James's Declaration of Indulgence* was at firſt entertained. I know the Univerſal Joy with which it was firſt received laſted but a little while; but I know that though the *Whiggs* miſliked that it ſhould be put out upon a *Diſpenſing Power*; yet believing it a Preface to Comprehenſive Meaſures and Latitudinarian Politicks, they forgave that blemiſh in its Birth; and every where ſo unanimouſly embraced it, that thoſe narrow Spirits

of the Church of *England*, who had a mind, were aſhamed, if not afraid to oppoſe it. *Liberty of Conſcience* would have made King *James* the Second, memorable and Glorious in our Hiſtories, had not *Sunderland*'s Artifices, ſuch Speeches as Mr. *Alſop*'s, and ſuch Pamphlets as *Can there come any Good out of Galilee?* ſpoyl'd the Nobleſt Project any *Engliſh* Monarch ever ſet on foot, which was *a Separation of Religious from Civil Intereſts.*

I confeſs we can make Popery a Bull-begger when we pleaſe, and that ought to teach the *Papiſts* moderation; but the *Liberty* and *Property-men* can alſo call off the *Mobb* when they pleaſe: For you ſee at this time the Nation finds no fau't with the Emperor's, the Duke of *Bavaria*'s Idolatry and Perſecution; no nor with the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition; whilſt they fanſie (though wildly and falſly) they are by their help ſupporting their own Civil Rights. They fall not upon the Papiſts here, that they may not diſpleaſe the Confederates abroad; ſo that Popery is not ſo dreadful, as Property and Privileges are dear and charming.

And now ſince I have been proving that Intereſt governs the World, however Men may miſtake what is their own Intereſt, I think my ſelf obliged in the Third Place to ſhew that it is the Intereſt of the *King*, and every ſort of Men, that he ſhould be reſtored upon Civil Securities; and that it is not the Intereſt of the King, or any ſort of Men, to endeavour that the Reſtauration ſhould be put upon any other Foot.

Whilſt I ſhew that it is the *King's Intereſt*; I ſhall Anſwer the Objection of thoſe, who ſay, the *Whigs* won't think their Properties and Privileges ſufficiently ſecured, unleſs the King part with ſome of his *Prerogative*. I am ſure whilſt he is diſpoſſeſſed he has no *Prerogative*, or at leaſt no exerciſe of, and benefit by it; and the chance of War is to doubtful to know whether he ſhall have any, unleſs the People pleaſe. He is *outed* of his Eſtate, and can in all probability only have it upon compoſition; which if he will not make with us, the Nation will try to the laſt to keep the poſſeſſion; and it has thoſe Eleven points of the Law: Nor are all things Prerogatives, that flattering Lawyers have called ſo in *Weſtminſter*-Hall; and ſome well-meaning and other ſelf-deſigning Clergy-men, have believed ſo in their Cloſets, or preached for as ſuch in their Pulpits. They can ſee farther than I, that expect to

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do any thing without an Accommodation. I think it impoſſible he ſhould be reſtored, or were he, that he ſhould keep his Throne without it. I think it impoſſible for one Man to govern the People of *England*, unleſs they have a mind he ſhould; and they will never have ſuch a mind unleſs he ſometimes gives way to their impetuoſities. But farther, his *Age*, and the *Minority* of his *Son*, are the higheſt inducements imaginable, for him to endeavour to leave a Government, to *quiet the Minds, as well as ſuppreſs the Inſurrections of the People.* There is likewiſe another Reaſon, why as a Man of Conſcience he muſt be yielding; for he cannot but be willing that his *Son* ſhould be educated in his own *Religion*; and if he will let the *Kingdom* be ſecure of their own *Religion*, and of their own *Laws*, notwithſtanding that the Crown ſhould be of one Religion, and the People of another. I am ſatisfied that the People of *England* will be little ſollicitous which Way our Kings think the beſt to Heaven. This has Argument, as he is a Religious Man. But I muſt again inforce Condeſcentions, as the Intereſt of the King under a Natural Conſideration. Good Securities will make the Nation own the *Legitimacy* of his *Son*, more than all other *proofs*; and without Good Securities, there will be pretences that his Birth is diſputable; (though I affirm it impoſſible for any thinking Man to queſtion in his own Mind the Prince of *Wales*'s being born of the Queen's Body) Compliance with the People made Queen *Elizabeth*'s Title unqueſtioned; ſo that thoſe that flatter the King with his *Right*, and ſeem to deſpiſe our *Rights*, take the moſt infallible courſe to deſtroy both the King and his Poſterity.

I need not have ſaid one Word of this matter to inform the King's Judgment; for he is in that Temper in which his Subjects wiſh him, and that would ſatisfie a *Parliament-Houſe*, were he to receive their Petitions and Addreſſes, to ſtamp their Votes, and to end our Diſputes. I do not ſpeak this by gueſs, but am convinced of it by many Diſcourſes I have had the Honour perſonally to have with him, ſince his Misfortunes; and the Letters I have had from ſeveral of the beſt hands ſince I left his Court, confirm me he remains in the ſame Opinion. But I thought it was neceſſary to ſay ſomething of this ſort, to ſet before thoſe *Jacobites* you complain of, the *Intereſt* of the *King* in the trueſt light.

As for the *Whiggs* of all ſorts, every Body knows that they will find their Account in a Reſtauration upon Civil Securities, and that no other Reſtauration will pleaſe them: So that I will not labour that matter at all; but haſten to ſhew that it is the Intereſt both of the Church of *England* and *Catholicks* to promote ſuch a Reſtauration.

The Church of *England* is not ſecure that ſhe ſhall be continued the National Church, ſo long as there is unlimitted and unexplained Diſpenſing Power; and ſhe ſaw *Quo Warranto*'s could produce Regulations, and ſo might go through other things. And the Miniſters of a Catholick King may again miſtake in the Exerciſe of his Power, if the Bounderies of the Adminiſtration are not plainly chalk'd out; and whilſt the Church of *England* appear Enemies to Liberty and Property, they will looſe their Intereſt with the People; and the next Revolution will conclude in *Presbytery* and a *Commonwealth*: For Popery wants Numbers to eſtabliſh it ſelf; though ſome of the Members of that Communion may have Vanity enough to hope to eſtabliſh it; and if the Church of *England* do not joyn in Civil Securities; nay, if there ſhould be a Reſtauration without them, thoſe Catholicks (though it will be to their certain Ruine) may be able to do enough towards it, to make the Church of *England* fall, and though the *Presbyterians* get all in the ſcramble. And though the *Presbyterians* have an odd hankering after a King; yet after they have been bit once more, they will become tuneable to a *Democracy*. *Nothing can deſtroy the Church of* England, *but their Oppoſition to the Liberties of their Country, or to Liberty of Conſcience, or their cloſing with Comprehenſion.*

It is a little Light; but however I will ſet down what I have often heard ſaid concerning it by Men of very large Minds. They have ſaid, that if the Members of the Church of *England* were as good-natured as the Conſtitution, *It is the beſt bred, civileſt, National Church in Chriſtendom.* I ſet it down as a light expreſſion to be uſed concerning Church Affairs, and yet there may be Inſtruction in it: For I believe its Civility, if it does not make ſo *extravagant Compliments* of our *Liberties*, will for ever make it ſtand; but if our *Liberties* are not well guarded, that may be pulled down, and Presbytery will be ſet up.

As for the *Roman Catholicks*, I think it is in the highest degree improbable that the *King* should ever be able to come home by *Conquest*, and yet more improbable he should be able to stay here upon that *Title*, (if indeed it is one in a Natural King:) and if the Catholicks would in all places declare for Civil Securities; I think this is the propereſt opportunity for their Incorporation. Our having been in Confederacy with Princes of that Perſwaſion, has made us capable of allowing fair Quarter to thoſe Catholicks that are here. We can follow our Intereſt, notwithſtanding our old Grudges; and if the Catholicks will come to a Temper, we are enough in one to embody them: Whereas, ſhould not the *Reſtauration* be in the Life of the King, the Prince of *Wales* would be fetched home upon a meer *Church of England Plot*, and the Proofs of his Birth will be Authentick and without Diſpute, during his Nonage, and till he his diſobliged us, and the Church of *England* Men will, in Point of Religion, carry all things before them, as far as is in Oppoſition to Popery; he will be bred up a Proteſtant, and muſt in proof of his being ſo, conſent to any farther Laws that the Church of *England* will think neceſſary to ſecure their Church againſt Popery: So far will it then be from repealing the Teſt, or even the Penal Laws, in relation to Catholicks. And the Church of *England*, whilſt they may have their Church ſecured, will, during the Minority of the Prince (before Flattery will advance to Preferment) agree with the Liberty and Property-men for any good and wholeſome Laws. And the Protectors of Young Princes muſt give way to the Importunities of the People. Now the Catholicks will not have an opportunity to bribe us by Civil Securities; the Church of *England* will remember all thoſe *Male-adminiſtrations* of his Miniſters, for which they turn'd out King *James*; and will ſay it was the *Papiſts* hindred us from being redreſſed againſt them. And the *Whiggs* will throw it in their Diſh, that they offered them Friendſhip upon Legal Eſtabliſhments, and that they did not cry out upon the *Declaration for Indulgence*, though founded upon a *Diſpenſing Power*, till the *Roman Catholicks* flew, or made at leaſt an appearance to fly, at ſeveral of our moſt invaluable *Rights* and *Privileges*. The *Whiggs* will ſay the Papiſts doted upon *French Power*, rather than *National Reſtauration*; nay, that they ſlighted the laſt, and have every where declared againſt the King's coming Home upon Terms, Conceſſions, Reformations, and amendment

of our Constitution; though unless they had intended to exercise a *Danish Lordliness* over us, their own Welfare must have been concluded in every thing that made *England* Happy. It matters not how unjust these Accusations will be: It is a true, though a course Proverb, *It is easie to find a stick when one has a mind to beat a Dog.* Is it the first time that we have against you believed Lies? I neither am, nor I hope to God ever shall be a *Roman Catholick*; but I have such Bowels towards all Mankind, that I seriously protest I have such melancholly Bodings for the *Roman Catholick Party*, I foresee such a period of Calamity (according to Humane reckoning) falling upon them, if the King is not restored by *Great Compliances* with his People, and in his own Person, that it has given me many a painful Thought; and I must confess am infinitely concerned for many excellent Persons of that Communion, who deserve all the Benefits of Fellow-Subjects. The *Whiggs* and *Church of England*-men will come to a *Compromise* at that day; but in all Humane appearance it will be a dreadful one to the Catholicks. Now they have an opportunity to be incorporated, to the Protestants; but if they don't make use of it, they may be pitty'd; but no Man will, in all probabillity, be able to help them. How Universal and Catholick soever their Religion may be in other places, I am sure they are Fanaticks in *England*, under a Civil Consideration; and therefore that they have all the reason in the World to be State Whiggs, and as such only will ever be impartially used by us.

I think nothing that I have said has depreciated the Doctrine of Passive Obedience. I do not pretend to determine who is in the Right in that Controversie; much less to handle it as a Religious One: But give me leave to tell an admirable Story concerning Dr. *Colvil*, a great Man in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, but one that was thought not to understand clearly the Principle of *Non-resistance*. The late Earl of *Middleton* having him once at Dinner asked him, *Whether there could be no Case in which defensive Arms were Lawful?* The Doctor replyed, *It was fit for the People to believe them unlawful, and for Kings to believe them lawful.* It was an admirable Repartee upon a suddain Question: But perhaps had he thought of it he would have said likewise, That *it is fit for the Ministers of Kings to believe them lawful too*: and I presume the present Earl of *Middleton* set down that additional Instruction to the *Apothegm*:

phigm: For though to the Eternal shame of the Judges, who now sit upon the King's Bench, they violated our Laws in the continuance of his imprisonment, it must be allowed, for his everlasting Honour, that that Noble Lord was as cautious of making the Law the Limits of his Ministry, as if it were *Lawful to rise up in Arms when ever the Laws were broken.*

But I must Answer your *Postscript*, wherein you tell me, that you neither know how the *King* can be restored now the Prince of *Orange* is in possession; nor what will become of the Prince of *Orange* if we should restore the *King*; nor what Security we could have from any Conditions the King could make with us. I answer, that if the Prince of *Orange* is not kept in possession by *English* men, he may soon be brought to Reason; and I do assure you, that there are many *Jacobites* that desire rather to see the Prince of *Orange* return to his Station of Stadtholder again in *Holland*, than with him any personal Injury: And as for the Security you require for any promised Conditions, you must forgive me if I think you a little insincere, if not trifling, when you place so much Weight upon the Pope's giving King *James* an Absolution for any Promises he should make. You might have said this artfully to the Mobb; but you cannot suppose that I would believe you were in earnest, though you make such a clutter with it. I allow as you say, that our Histories tell us of some Kings that were absolved by Popes; but you know that Bulls, Absolutions, and the Pope's Excommunications were like to go further with the Nation in Popish Times, than they are like to do now: And yet by your very instance of King *Henry* the Third, you might be convinced, that the People of *England* never would, even then, let a King be at rest, till he had performed his Promises. I will not write a long Confutation of a thing that I know cannot stick with you, or any wise considering Man: And besides, I do not go about to perswade you to take up with a Constitution, that will depend either upon a King's Temper or Religion, Honour or Veracity. Make a Government that is ease to all, and it will be the Interest of all to preserve it: But if you would do so, you must bring the Right Line into it; you must nicely preserve the Church of *England*, as the National Church; and yet you must remember that the Kingdom of Heaven is not of this World: You must take care in your

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Civil Compacts, that *Prieſtcraft* does not ſpoyl all at laſt: You muſt take care even of a Proteſtant, *in Ordine in Spiritualia*; and let the Tares and the Wheat grow up together. But farther, although you have ſuch wild accounts concerning the *Jacobites*; there are amongſt thoſe that ſerve King *James*, Men that know what you are a doing; that know you are looking far and near for a Deliverance; that know how impotent you think the Prince of *Orange* is to Rule; how that you deſpiſe him, as much as the Nation miſliked *Richard Cromwel* before the Reſtauration; that know your extravagant Projects, and more temperate Thoughts, and yet have accounted for all things; and will, as things ripen, find ways to give you ſatisfaction, if any thing will. We know, that *Maud* the Empreſs, even when King *Stephen* was a Priſoner; and though her Title was indiſputable, and though the Nation was all Catholicks, loſt the Crown, becauſe ſhe was refractory and haughty, and denied to the *Londoners*, *Edward* the Confeſſor's Laws. And I aſſure you there will be Men that will lay before the *King* the Neceſſity and Wiſdom of giving Satisfaction to all your Reaſonable Demands. If you do not ask too much *Counter-Security*, things unfit for an *Engliſh King* to grant, there are *Jacobites* that will not only deliver, but ſecond your Petitions. *A Good and Settled Monarchy* you may have; and a *Commonwealth* is ſcarce *practicable*, will be hazardous at preſent, and cannot be *laſting*.

I know there are ſome amongſt the *Jacobites*, who are otherwiſe Men of great Honour and Worth; and yet ſuſpect every thing, ſuch as you promote, is to make the King a *Doge* of *Venice*: But there are others who have compared, and taken in pieces, and viewed in parts, all the Models of Government; who, if you would rectifie, and not change, either the Name or Nature of ours, will receive very kindly any thing you offer, will inſtruct you how to make it palatable to the King, and ſhew him how conſiſtent it is, both with his Honour and his Intereſt. Let the manner be decent, and your Propoſitions allow King *James* to have the *Ballance*, that an *Engliſh King* ſhould have, and muſt neceſſarily have, in our *Conſtitution*. And I aſſure you many of the *Jacobites* know no other, but ſuch an *Engliſh King*, to be our *Supream Head and Governour*.

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But after all, if *King James* is called home by the Nation, we need no other Security than a well choſen Parliament. The preſent Parliament may call him home when they pleaſe, without any other Force, but their own denial of Money. And the *King*'s being of another Religion will in ſome meaſure check the effects of a *Revolutionary Joy*, and prevent our *Exceſſes*: And if ſober and honeſt Men would in all Corporations (inſtead of all other projects) inſtruct all the *Populace*, that all thoſe that drink upon their Members coſt, hazard being Slaves for that Draught; and that it is time, ſeriouſly to take care of themſelves, and their Poſterity, by chooſing Men of Virtue, rather than the *Favourites* or the *Factions* of any Opinion, whether they are *Jure Divino*, or *Original Contract-men*; Men that are as well Loyal to their Country as their *King*, and to the *King* as their Country; Men that have good Nature, Eſtates, Honeſty, Sence, and moderate Minds: Such a *Parliament* would be an *healing Parliament*; might not only end, but take away all occaſions for, Strife and Changes. And Eſtabliſhment, Virtue, and Liberty, are a Nobler Happineſs, than exceſſive Riches, pompous Buildings, and all other Glories that a People can poſſeſs. How is the Excellency of the *Spartan Inſtitution* every where, and every day applauded, though all their Pleaſures ſeem to be nothing elſe but Hardſhips and Self-denial? But we may add Plenty to our Peace, increaſe our Trade and our Strength, and by our *Naval Force*, and a perfect Union amongſt our ſelves, be again conſidered as the *Arbiters* of *Europe*.

But I am unawares launching into a ſpacious Subject. It is time to conclude. I wiſh all *Engliſh*-men would conſider how to do it; and I wiſh there could ſuddenly, before we are undone, a method be found out to reconcile the *King*, and his Nephew, and all his Children, both Natural and National; a method found out to adjuſt all our Intereſts, and bring us all to our reſpective Duties. I beſeech God ſo to order things, that all Sects, and ſorts of *Engliſh*-men, may think it a National Good to reſtore our *King*. I have read our Annals; I wiſh every Body had. Could I here delineate the Scars and Wounds, the Bloodſheds and Diſtreſſes, that the Violation of the Hereditary Title (*which will hover over all Uſurpations, and all Forms of a Commonwealth*) have coſt the poor People of this Nation: Could I paint out the Executions, and Extinctions of Noble Families, that the Wars between the *Two Houſes*

have occaſioned, they would repreſent but an horid Proſpect, a doleful Scene. *Oh! Bleſſed God! Viſit not this Land for its Iniquities with Deſtruction; but in Judgment remember Mercy. Let Righteouſneſs and Mercy reſtore him to it, and on them eſtabliſh the Throne of thy Servant* James; *teach him to go in and out before this great People, which (by our Laws and Oaths, and his Inheritance) thou haſt committed to his charge: Let his Children Honour, his Subjects Obey, and his Nephew be Juſt to him, and God be Glorified, be ſtill Glorified in his and our wonderful Deliverance; that Wickedneſs may no longer proſper, but Peace return to us, and our Childrens Children, to all Generations.* Amen, Amen. And God put it into the Hearts of all his Subjects to ſay likewiſe *Amen* to this National and Honeſt Prayer.

I find that my Letter has grown under my hands; but if it tires you, you muſt thank your ſelf, that you ſtarted ſo much Game; a great deal has riſen before me in Writing that I have not followed; though I hope I have writ enough to let you know, that what ever Spirit you find ſome *Jacobites* in, yet there are others that cannot diſguſt a reaſonable Man; and alſo that I am the ſame *Engliſhman* you ever knew me, as well as

SIR,

Your Affectionate Friend, and Faithful Servant.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE Letter I ſent you laſt *Auguſt*, being ſhewn to ſome that are yours as well as my old Friends, and more ſo to *England* than to either of us, it was, at their importunity, ſent to the Preſs, ſoon enough to have been publiſhed long before the Parliament met; but when part of it was Printed, the reſt was ſtopped by ſome Accidents that are not ſo proper to mention, and therefore ſome few Expreſſions of it may not be altogether ſo ſeaſonable as they were when I wrote it to you (ſince the Money is now given;) however

however, I hope in the main it may be of ſome uſe. And now we have begun this Scribling Conflict, I deſire that in your next you will let me know when you can reaſonably ſuppoſe this War, and conſequently Taxes, will end? And whether, if the Confederacy ſhould break before you have thought fit to reſtore your Rightful and Lawful King, or the *French* are more humbled (as you call it) than they are hitherto, we ſhould not indeed run a greater risk of our Liberties, for the preſent, (after ſuch a continued Provocation of the King) than either you, or I, or any good *Engliſh* man could wiſh to ſee? Tell me likewiſe, whether thoſe that are not of our Army, or Fleet, cannot, if they have a Mind to reſtore the King upon a National Foot, influence thoſe Natives that are in both, to reſtore King *James*, as the old Army did his Brother. You have read Hiſtory, and know that an Army of Natives follows the inclinations of the Inhabitants; you know the real Power your Party has in the Nation; and that it is not the Tories, who have broke in upon their own Conſcience; but you, who have forſaken your Underſtandings, that keep the Prince of *Orange* (as much as you every day ridicule him) from being ſent for good and all to *Holland*; and though you do not know how to make him either value your Perſons, or ſee his own Intereſt; yet you can ſoon find ways (notwithſtanding your own Latitude) to make an *Engliſh* Army reflect upon their Oaths and Obligations to King *James*, and their Uſage under this Man; nay, you cannot but know they begin themſelves to have theſe Reflections, and therefore with very little pains you may prepare them Nationally to reſtore the King; which if they do (with all due regard to him be it ſpoken) he is, as it were, in our Power, and he muſt grant thoſe Conceſſions we really want, and where a *King*, whoſe Title is indiſputed, frankly hears Advice from a duly-elected Parliament, the genuine and united Sence of the Nation may be gathered up, and a Natural Cure given to all our Troubles, and only from thence can come an impartial Settlement. Think of theſe things ſeriouſly, and let not the Diſcourſes of ſuch *Jacobites*, as you complain of, (who have as little Intereſt with the King, as you ſay they have with *England*) either give you diſturbance, or make you any longer willing to undergo worſe things under this Uſurpation, than you can have any juſt reaſon to fear, if the King returns; eſpecially, if you your ſelves reſtore him. Beſides, I muſt tell you, I have

good

good reaſon to believe, the King of *France* himſelf (with whom you fright the Mobb) is not politically an Enemy to a limitted Monarchy in *England*, and that he will agree to a reaſonable Peace in *Europe*, if the Reſtauration of King *James* is made one of the Conditions of it, and that he will not be brought to any Peace unleſs we reſtore him, howmuchſoever the Prince of *Orange* has flattered you, that (inſtead of the Vineyards and Spoils of *Paris*, that he ſeemed to promiſe) he will bring him to an honourable Peace. I will only add, that whereas ſome of your Party do now, as you did formerly, raiſe malicious and unjuſt Calumnies upon the Queen, I am fully ſatisfied that ſhe is as deſirous the King ſhould comply with his People, as the nobleſt and niceſt Patriots could be, were King *James* upon the Throne; ſhe has a mind that the Struggles between the Crown and the People ſhould be adjuſted, that ſo the Succeſſion of her Son may be ſecured. Think of all this ſeriouſly, write me your Mind freely, and act as becomes a true Lover of *England*. Be not over-fond of your own Creation, as a *Williamite*. Meddle not with thoſe who would yet farther change the Name and Nature of our Government, and then (fiercely as you are to now) be *Anti-Jacobite* as long as you can. Once again, adieu.

F I N I S.

ERRATA.

Page 1. line 14. for ſo, r. *we*. p. 3. l. 30. r. *furca*. l. 32. for in r. *into*. p. 4. l. 4. r. *may as apparently*. p. 8. l. 7. for *debate* r. *detail*. p. 10. l. 32. for I ſhall not be miſunderſtood, r. *I ſhall not be ſo miſunderſtood*, l. 29. for which r. *as*, p. 13. l. 6. for farther r. *faſter*, l. 20. for amend r. *commend*, p. 14. l. 1. *dele* the, l. 3. you muſt add [*as guilded Pills may deceive a ſick Patient, but I am none of thoſe Princes*,] *for I know that the Commonwealth*, &c. p. 17 l. 4. for Chriſtian r. *Hiſtorian*, l. 14, for *Principium* r. *Principum*, for *pracipui* r. *pracipuè*, l. 33. for King r. *being*, l. 40. for this Countrey r. *his Countrey*, p. 19. l. 1. for bonnd r. *bind*, p. 20. l. 1. of the ſecond Paragraph, for the ſecond that ſeems r. *the ſecond thing that ſeems*, &c. p. 23. l. 7. *ſettled* is left out, l. *ult*, *ſay* is left out, for Jacoquites r. *Jacobites*, p. 24. l. 10. for ſo might go through other things r. *ſo I might go through other things*, l. 22. dele *though*, l. 34. for ſo ex- r. *too ex-* p. 26. l. 14. r. *Communion who deſerve better than to be made a Sacrifice to our rage and madneſs, who deſerve*, &c.

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